243 492 [427] wheeled oxcarts is possible, although they are rarely used. Burros usually have to be rented or borrowed; in the latter case, a gift of maize or money equal to the rent is usually made. Fifty centavos a day is the usual pay for burros, which adds considerably to the expense of bringing in the harvest from distant fields. Often pay is in maize and is subject to some bargaining.

243 632 The time of the harvest varies in different places. If the "plain" west of town is planted, the main harvest is in November, but if the "plain" southeast of town is planted, the harvest is in December. In either case, the town council, in consultation with the principal landowners, sets the dates for harvests. Where lands adjoin those of neighboring towns, usually both towns begin the same day. Eight days after the date set, anyone may turn animals into the fields. Persons who have not completed harvesting or carrying in their harvest may have difficulty protecting it from animals.

243 527 692 273 As the harvest is a time of joint work, even though not communal in character, it also is a rather festive and social occasion. Moreover, many workmen have more money than at any other time. To protect them from temptations, keep them sober while working, and avoid distractions, the sale of fruit or liquor is prohibited outside the edge of town. Actually, the "edge of town" becomes somewhat elastic, and vendors may set up stands as much as half a kilometer from town.

243 In 1940 the following schedule of harvests was posted:

December 5. Huanaschucun (sloping lands at the foot of the Cerro de la Virgen, northwest of town).
December 9. Eastern part of the "plain" of Sharicho and Rincon de Paso.
December 16. Western part of Sharicho.
December 19. Plain of Arantepacua.

No rules were posted for smaller isolated areas and fields which were fenced. The parts of Sharicho and other areas close to the Nahuatzen boundary were harvested beginning November 26 in order to prevent conflicts over animals crossing the boundary.

251 243 White maize and yellow maize are stored unshelled in the lofts of *"trojes."* Little effort is taken to protect maize from rats and squirrels

264 serving and preparing tortillas is over. Ordinarily, the only utensils are spoons and these are used only when coffee is served. Food is taken in the fingers or, more commonly, in a piece of tortilla.

264 527 In fiestas, separation of sexes is more pronounced. The men are seated in two rows on beams or planks. Each is served a bowl of čurípo. Tortillas, tamales, salt, and water are placed at convenient intervals between the rows. Male children are served later in the same way. All serving outside the cooking place is done by men. Women and female children eat apart with less formality, often in the cooking place.

271 The only possible trace of ceremonial habits relating to eating is the habit of always leaving a little water when drinking. This is poured on the ground after drinking. No reasons were advanced for this procedure.

184 264 In Mestizoized Chilchota, according to Silvia Rendón, men are always served first. At weddings, however, unmarried girls are served

[text continues on top of p.58b]

ECONOMICS

128 The techniques of raw material production, manufacting processes, and utilization of products have been discussed in the preceding pages. Under the heading "Economics" I wish now to consider problems of production, consumption, and exchange of goods and services apart from the technologies involved. Such a separation is artificial, although perhaps no more so than is the segregation of any two aspects of a culture, but separate consideration is suggested both by the complexity of the subject and by the tendency in many ethnographic studies to consider discussion of technology to be a sufficient treatment of economics. Special discussion of economic problems also seems desirable in view of the present great interest in altering the basic economics and living standards of large areas of the world and the long-continued Mexican efforts to incorporate native groups more fully into the national economy.

437 The study of Tarascan economy is facilitated by the fact that many of the exchanges of goods and services are made on a money basis. Moreover, the convenience of money as a measure of value has so impressed the Tarascans that ex-

[text continues on middle of p.58b]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.116]

583 to marry the girl by a certain date. He failed
684 to do so, as he wished to marry another girl and knew also that the girl laying the charges visited a house of assignation. He was thrown in jail. Later, his mother went his bond and he was released. The boy fled town and had not returned several months later. His mother was put in jail overnight but was released the next day.

123 The preceding discussion is a very unsatis-
671 factory treatment of conflict situations and law. Information on the unformalized personal and familial conflicts is very scanty. Intimate day to day knowledge of households which would produce such information is extremely difficult to secure in Cherán. On the other hand, not enough detailed material was secured on the types of conflicts reaching the *municipio* to make possible any adequate statement regarding legal concepts. In theory, the law in Cherán is Mexican law. Enough examples have perhaps been given to indicate that much of the justice dispensed in the *municipio* is according to informal and generally accepted rules. Only observation of a very large number of cases would permit abstracting the principles on which action is based.

RELIGION AND CEREMONIAL

794 priest. The Mass, Rosary, confession, baptism,
796 confirmation, and so on all fall in this category. A more or less conventional church organization headed by a priest is almost solely responsible for these ceremonies. Associated with
575 this part of the religious organization are the various societies, such as those of the Sacred Heart, Daughters of Mary, Apostles of Saint Joseph, and the Third Order of Saint Francis. Linked with the church organization in part is the *cabildo* or the ačes.

796 Forming a mixture of church and community
527 ceremonials are the fiestas. The organization of fiestas is related to the political organization and, aside from the Mass and strictly church rituals, the fiestas are essentially secular celebrations centering round a religious object.

796 The *mayordomías* are the third important type of religious ceremony and are connected with the church through the *carguero* system and

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.120a] Sierra Tarascans

578 the town. Continuing his remarks, the former
177 mayor also said that the priests seem not to
793 want people to understand the prayers and rituals. He then went on to point out how different conditions are in the United States, where he had spent some years, and entered into a discussion of the reasons for the differences.

RELIGIOUS FIESTAS

527 The most important rituals and recreational events at Cherán are the fiestas. They are not, however, intimately connected today with the Church. It might be fair to say that the saints' days are the excuses for holding the major fiestas. All the large fiestas are accompanied by special Masses, but the extent of church connection is perhaps less than that involved in the *mayordomías*. Essentially, the fiestas are secular events with religious overtones. All the major fiestas are conducted by the municipal authorities, rather than by the church. They are important commercial events in the town, especially the fiesta of the patron saint. They also provide a great deal of entertainment. In general, they offer occasions for making the major purchases of the year, showing hospitality, overdrinking, and for the excitement of large crowds and release from routine. Only a few people find the religious aspects of importance, even though they may attend the Mass.

In some towns the fiestas are in disrepute and have been abolished. In Cherán there is no opposition to the fiestas on religious grounds, but primarily on grounds of drunkenness. As one solid farmer remarked—

[185] The bad part of the fiestas is that people get so very drunk; you have seen how the women become more disorderly than any (I had not observed this as a general thing, by any means). The worst is where the fiesta is too large, as in Cheranástico, where three bands are employed although the town is small. People there have to pay 13 to 15 pesos per family. Also bad is when *cargueros* have to pay the entire cost of the fiestas. Here the fiesta costs only 1 or 2 pesos per person (family).

Such views are unusual in Cherán and, except for efforts to introduce such novelties as basketball games, the progressive administration takes pride in perpetuating the conduct of the fiestas on a grand scale.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p. 120b]

FIESTA OF THE PATRON SAINT

●527 624 The fiesta of the patron saint, San Francisco, is held for 4 days, beginning the first Sunday after October 4. Usually after the Fiesta of San Luís in Nahuatzen August 25, *comisionados* are named by the mayor (on August 20 in 1940) and are notified by formal letters delivered by the police. Only persons out of town or those providing very good reasons may refuse to accept the post. The major duties are distributed by *barrio*, and for each *barrio* a head commissioner is named who selects a group of from 5 to 15 assistants. The duties in 1940 were distributed as follows: *Barrios* II and III each had to provide a band, *barrio* I provided the fireworks or *castillo*, and *barrio* IV provided the wax (*la cera*). The *barrio* IV duty really meant that it paid for the Mass and for the special candles burned. These duties are rotated so that in the course of 4 years, for example, each *barrio* will have provided the fireworks. The commissioners collect a sum varying from 80 centavos to perhaps a little more than a *peso* from each householder in the *barrio*, which they may use for their expenses. [686] Anyone refusing to pay may be thrown in jail. The costs are not entirely equal for the different *barrios*, and, owing to the discrepancy in size of the different *barrios*, the individual contributions demanded also vary. The commissioners seem to have complete responsibility for collecting and expending funds, but if expenses are greater than the amount collected, the commissioners must make up the sum out of their own pockets.

In addition to the commissioners named for the above purposes, young men are commissioned for each *barrio* who have to provide poles and posts and reconstruct the bull ring or *toril*. Finally, four commissioners are named for the moros or dancers connected with this fiesta. Each commissioner has to find a dancer, provide him with his costume, and feed and look after the dancer throughout the fiesta. The duties of the commissioners will now be discussed in more detail as they functioned in 1940.

The commissioners for the *barrios* in 1940 were Mateo Ocampo, *barrio* I, fireworks; Florentín Rafaél, *barrio* II, music; Fernando

527 624 Durán, *barrio* III, music; Marcelino Guerrero, *barrio* IV, wax. Each of these men had a number of assistants. Marcelino Guerrero, for example, had eight. This group first estimated their expenses at about $125 to cover the cost of candles and the Mass. As late as September 17 they were not sure how much the wax would cost, because they had not yet talked with the new priest to find out what he would think necessary. Ordinarily in the past about 14 kilos of wax had been used, made into candles weighing a half kilo each. Smaller candles are also provided. The large candles have decorations of white paper. Formerly the candles were taken to church in a procession with music, but now there is no ceremony.

In addition to estimating expenses, the commissioner and his assistants made up a list of all the men in the *barrio* and set a quota for each contribution, varying from $0.50 to $1.25 per person, according to their economic conditions. About September 17 the commissioners visited all the houses to inform people what the quotas were and to warn them to be ready to pay their contribution. The following Sunday they made their actual visits for contributions. In 1940 they had some difficulty, because maize was scarce at the time and numerous people were having to buy maize.

Mateo Ocampo, commissioner for the fireworks, and his group had made up their accounts by September 12. At that time estimates [389] were that the main *castillo* would cost $150 and would be 20 yards high. The individual contribution averaged $1.25. (On October 1, Ocampo was still collecting money.) The fireworks maker had been engaged from Paracho. In addition to collecting money, the commissioner and his assistants had to cut and bring the poles for the *castillos*. The commissioner also had to feed the fireworks maker and his assistant for about a week.

527 624 533 The commissioners for the music functioned similarly. Their task was more onerous, for the musicians are the most expensive of the obligations. Fernando Durán, for *barrio* II, had arranged for the band of Nahuatzen at a cost of $270 for 4 days, Sunday to Wednesday. In addition to this, the commissioners had to feed the musicians for this time. If any funds were collected more than the amount needed to

527 624 533 pay the musicians, these might be employed to help pay for the meals. Usually the commissioner and his assistants were each responsible for serving one meal at his house. When a band is invited, usually 5 or 10 pesos are paid in advance and a written contract is signed, stating the amount to be paid and the time the music is to play. It is customary always to invite a band from outside, although sometimes the local band is hired. In 1940 the two bands were from Nahuatzen and Pichataro.

527 624 535 One commissioner for the moros is named from each *barrio*. He has no assistants and does not collect money, paying the entire expense out of his own pocket. The commissioner finds a young man who knows the dance and persuades him to dance. He does not ordinairily pay the dancer (who receives gifts from storekeepers and others during the fiesta), but he must feed him breakfast and dinner (but not supper) throughout the fiesta. The commissioner also must assemble the costume, usually renting the more expensive parts, provide a horse with a good saddle, and attend on the moro all the time he is dancing, looking after his needs and making any necessary adjustments or repairs in the costume. The shirt, trousers, and shoes are bought and are presented to the moro.

In 1940 only three moros appeared. The fourth commissioner was a forest worker away from home during the week. On investigation, it developed that the policeman delivered the letter to the man's wife, who claimed she mislaid the letter and forgot to give it to her husband. No one believed her, but nothing [558] could be proved otherwise. Certainly the family's prestige in Cherán went down, for everyone was annoyed that only three moros appeared.

527 624 358 The four commissioners for the bull ring are all younger men. The commissioner for *barrio* I, Plácido Romero, had four assistants. None of these had to provide services but aided in seeing that the other young men complied with their obligations. Each *barrio* had to provide 18 long peeled pine trunks and 7 stout posts. In most *barrios* each young man had to bring either a post or a pole, but in *barrios* with small population, such as No. I, it was necessary to bring two. When the materials are all

527 assembled, the young men have to rebuild the
624 bull ring. Anyone not doing his part or pro-
358 viding his materials, as Romero put it, "rests in jail."

The bulls for the bull riding are sought by
527 the mayor or by a member of the *ayuntamiento*.
624 Different persons provide bulls for each of the 3
541 days they are ridden. On the Sunday the fiesta begins, the mayor or one of the councilmen takes a bottle of *charanda* to the house of the person to be invited to provide bulls. If the person accepts the bottle of *charanda*, he is
[492] obligated to provide his bulls for riding (only a few people in town have suitable bulls). The owner of the bulls then invites others to help him bring in the bulls or, if they own bulls, to bring theirs as well. If they accept, he gives them a drink of *charanda*. The same routine is followed for the bulls to be ridden the other 2 days.

Sometimes bulls are brought from another town. If the relations between the towns are
[427] friendly, usually the bulls will be lent, if not, it may be necessary to pay rent for the use of the animals. The rent is paid from the municipal treasury, using some of the money collected from vendors in the plaza.

527 One other obligation exists which should be
624 noted. The one rancheria of Cherán, Cosúmo, provides a *chirimía* band each year (the
[534] chirimía is an oboelike wind instrument). In 1940, the band was said to be from Carapan. The men from the rancheria also act as policemen during the fiesta.

527 The sequence of events leading up to the fiesta and the fiesta itself will now be described. As already indicated, the first preparations began with the naming of the commissioners by the mayor on August 20. Obviously, the actual notifications on this date were preceded by discussion of suitable persons and the preparation of the letters. The commissioners then sought their assistants, began estimating costs, making up the lists of contributors, and collecting money, at the same time making arrangements with fireworks makers, musicians, and candlemakers. The commissioners for the moros began hunting for dancers. Meanwhile, every Sunday, the young men practiced bull riding on the tame bulls kept near town. They also began to bring in logs

527 during September. Each *barrio* piled its logs somewhere in the *barrio* as they were accumulated and took them to the bull ring only when the number was complete.[35]

527 On September 27 lengthy discussions took place concerning the erection of a grandstand 417 for spectators. This is usually done, but there appear to be no set arrangements. In the discussion, it developed that one year the seats had collapsed because the posts were not well set and no cross bracing was employed. One person was hurt; the only reason more were not hurt was that the entire stand went over as a unit instead of one end collapsing. It was agreed that cross bracing should be used (but it was not).

It was finally decided to persuade individuals to take responsibility for putting up the seats. There was some difficulty about this, as the persons approached were suspicious that they would be taxed so heavily that any profits from admission charges would be wiped out. When told that the *municipio* would not tax the concession, the builders at first refused to believe it and kept asking to be told in advance what the tax would be. Moisés Valencia, the town "boss," finally had to persuade them. Intense activity now started on the part of the builder (one man finally undertook the task of erecting all the stands) and his assistants, collecting materials and hauling them to the bull ring behind the church. Boards were borrowed from some dealers in town for making the actual seats, but logs had to be cut and hauled for the framework.

[347] On September 28 carpenters began erecting the first stand or booth on the plaza. Several wooden booths were erected in the following days, mostly for selling soft drinks or ice cream.

527 On October 1 the transportable parts of the *castillo* or fireworks were brought in two lots. Rockets were fired off upon their arrival. The fireworks maker and an assistant set up shop in part of the old chapel used by the tilemakers. Later, when the pole for the big *castillo* or set piece was brought in, part of the operations

[35] About 3 weeks before the fiesta a great deal of activity began in painting, plastering, and furbishing up houses, especially those on the plaza and on nearby streets. This went on right up to the time of the fiesta. The mayor took some part in suggesting improvements, but most of the householders made them on their own initiative.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.123a] Sierra Tarascans

527 was transferred to the arcade on the north side of the plaza.

On October 3 (Wednesday in 1940), men brought their ox teams and plows into town, and all agricultural work ceased until at least Tuesday of the following week. On this day, also, people began arriving in numbers for the fiesta, including the first of the vendors.

527 443 Three or four, indeed, had arrived the day before, including three women with "a little religion"—medals, rosaries, votive offerings, pictures of saints, etc.—who had expected to stay in the house of the priest, but after learning of the change of priests, had to seek lodging in a private establishment. In addition to these women, there were the following: A street vendor, shouting "*Milagros, milagros de plata, muy barata,*" who offered votive offerings of various parts of the human anatomy made of what he claimed was silver; a seller of Guanajuato pottery; a few sellers of cloth; another seller of religious articles; and a number of hard-faced women preparing to open food and drink establishments. These were all placed together on a street a long block from the plaza. Some or all of the women evidently make a business of following fiestas, as I recognized some of them from fiestas at other towns. Their reputation in Cherán was very bad.

527 364 Some street cleaning began on this day. Trash was burned in the streets and the streets were swept. This is done voluntarily by the owners of property on the streets. The municipal authorities had the plaza swept and all surplus dirt and rocks from recent construction activities carried out of sight. The borders of the plaza walks were whitewashed and the benches painted a bright green. The benches were also repaired and set more firmly. The paid police did most of the work.

527 796 October 4, Friday, was the actual Saint's day. Rosary and Vespers were celebrated together the evening before from 7:30 to 9 o'clock. The big bell of the church was rung for about an hour afterward. At midnight of the 3d the Cherán band began to play and continued intermittently through the night. The members [574] either were calling at the houses of persons named Francisco, who had to feed all visitors, or were hired by such persons to play a piece

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

527 or two. The big bell also began to ring about midnight and was rung intermittently all the
796 rest of the night. Early in the morning there was a Low Mass and at 9 a. m. a High Mass.
[793] These were performed by the priest as part of his duties and were not the special Masses paid for by the town. About noon a few members of the Cherán band gathered in front of the priest's house and played for a time, continuing intermittently the rest of the afternoon.

527 Much activity was under way in the plaza, although the main market day would not be
[443] until Sunday. Vendors of shoes, clothing, cakes, candles, candy, apples, peanuts, chiles, dried fish, and painted wooden bowls in Quiroga style were added to those already present. A
[265] gambling game was set up. The booths for
[275] the liquor and food shops were mostly set up on
[548] this day. Comments implied that the girls running the booths were all prostitutes, but all the booths were completely open. In any case, the booths are the center for most of the drunkards and most of the fights and disorder associated with the fiesta. The *castillo* was nearly complete (pl. 6, upper left). On this day also, the church was cleaned up and decorated. A few began working at the bull ring, digging up old posts and clearing away weeds, while others transported new posts and logs from the various *barrios*.

All day Saturday vendors arrived. Most of
[443] them merely located their space and unpacked their animals, but did not unpack their goods (pl. 5, upper left). A great many people arrived, and the plaza and nearby streets were crowded. A large carousel or merry-go-round
[529] was set up in a patio behind the *municipio*, while a smaller one was placed on one of the side streets.

527 In the evening, shortly before dusk, the com-
533 missioners and their assistants went to the calvary, the chapel at the east edge of town, to meet the bands coming from Nahuatzen and Pichataro. The bands had not arrived by dark, when one of the most violent thunderstorms anyone could remember deluged the party. It was said there were no ceremonies of greeting ordinarily and that the commissioners merely greeted their band and led it to one of the houses for supper. Certainly, there were no ceremonies that night.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.124a]

527 Somewhat later, after the storm had subsided,
533 the *chirimía* band arrived. Four or five players
on an oboelike wooden instrument (with a
[534] double reed mouthpiece and a number of finger
stops) played in unison, accompanied by a
drum. They played for some time in the arcade
before the municipal building. The shrill
music, played with great verve and noise,
seemed vaguely familiar and finally became
recognizable as the "Beer Barrel Polka." It
remained the favorite and almost only piece
played by the *chirimía* band throughout the
fiesta.

527 Sunday the market was in full operation, and
the plaza and adjoining streets were jammed
with people (pl. 4, lower right). Not only
were most of the residents of Cherán on the
[443] streets, in some cases making extensive pur-
[323] chases (this is the only time of the year that
pottery is sold in Cherán, for example), but
there were hundreds of visitors. The bands
played early in the morning. The young men
were busy working on the bull ring.

[796] The High Mass was celebrated about 10
o'clock, with the church filled to overflowing.
527 About 12 o'clock the first moro appeared on
535 horseback, followed in a short time by the
other two. They rode slowly around the plaza,
followed by one of the bands. After a short
time the moros went to lunch without dancing.
[574] Many people invited guests home to eat with
them at this time, often issuing invitations well
in advance. To a lesser extent, guests may be
invited on other days of the fiesta. About 3
o'clock the moros returned and sat on their
horses in the plaza in front of the church while
the bands played. The moros then went to the
municipio, dismounted, and danced in front of
the building. Remounting, they returned to
the church and danced in front of the church.
Many people were openly critical of them for
not dancing first in front of the church. After
the performance in front of the church, the
dancers went on foot down the main street,
dancing in front of various stores until about
6 o'clock, when they went to eat again. During
[542] the afternoon a basketball game was played
between Cherán and Paracho. It aroused little
interest.

527 In the evening the big *castillo* or fireworks
389 set was to be burned. Not until after dark

527 were attempts made to raise the structure, various volunteers working under the direction 389 of the fireworks maker. The commissioners for the fireworks had kept their promise to bring in a 20-meter pole, and great difficulties were encountered in trying to raise it. The climax of several abortive efforts came when the pole snapped about halfway up. By some miracle no one was hurt, although it appeared to fall in a dense crowd.

The collapse of the pole cast a damper on the whole fiesta, for the burning of the *castillo* is one of the high points of any Mexican fiesta. Some violence was threatened the fireworks maker, so he was promptly arrested by the authorities, partly to protect him from the crowd. He pointed out that he was not responsible for furnishing the pole and that the commissioners had brought a pine pole instead of a fir pole of similar size. The fireworks maker also argued that there was a smaller *castillo*, planned for the following night as a surprise; if he were arrested, he would be unable to put the finishing touches on that *castillo* and there would be no fireworks at all. Finally, he promised he would salvage a large part of the damaged *castillo* and the following night it would be possible to have two *castillos*. When the crowd quieted down, the fireworks maker was released and succeeded in carrying out his promises.

The threats of the crowd were not idle, by any means. The fireworks maker is always [686] held responsible for any failures and cases are known where the maker has been badly mauled. In any case he is usually jailed and often heavily fined. In the present instance the municipal officers were all reasonable men, and no drastic measures were taken. The fireworks maker did not, however, receive the full price.

Monday morning the market continued. The 527 first band appeared and began to play about 533 11 o'clock. The second band appeared with the moros about an hour later. The moros dismounted in front of the church and went into the priest's residence, dancing before him. Then they went down the street dancing before the stores again, finally stopping for dinner. About 2 o'clock it was rumored that the bulls [541] were about to be brought in. Actually, they were being held in a meadow in the *barranca* below

527 town and were waiting both for the proper
533 time and for the last finishing touches to be put
[541] on the bull ring.

About this time the *chirimía* band appeared again and played in front of the *municipio*. It then started on a round of the stores, with special attention to the saloons.

527 The bulls were brought in about 3:45. This
541 was a high point for many of the crowd but it was somewhat of an anticlimax, for the animals seemed a somewhat cowed and meek lot. The moros followed the bulls down the street on horseback, accompanied by a band. When the bulls were finally in the ring, the moros departed to remove their costumes. A band was placed in each grandstand. The municipal officials were seated in a special reserved section of one of the band stands, each carrying a bunch of flowers. The grandstands were soon filled. Those who did not have the admission price or who could not find a place, sat on the railings of the fence or peered between them.

The man in charge of the bull ring is always the owner of the bulls being used that day. He is assisted by a number of volunteers, some mounted and some on foot. The first act is to clear the ring and get the bulls in a pen at one side. Then one bull is let out into the ring and the performance starts.

The object of the performance is not to fight the bull but to ride him. For this, a front foot and a hind foot of the bull must be lassoed and the animal thrown (pl. 5, lower left). Before this is accomplished the bull is teased and played for a time. A few men and boys imitate the actions of bullfighters, using blankets instead of capes to persuade the bulls to charge. Several men on horseback also try to lasso a foot; they usually fail and often the bull is goaded into charging. This is mightily pleasing to the audience. Usually the lassos are actually placed by men on foot.

When the bull is thrown, several men hold him down while a rope is wound tightly several times about the bull's chest and knotted securely. The volunteer rider has heavy spurs fastened to his feet and mounts the bull while it is still held down. He takes a firm grip on the rope and hooks his spurs under the rope also. When he is ready, the bull is released. It rises and endeavors to throw the rider (pl. 5,

527 upper and lower, right). By the end of 2 or 3
541 minutes either the rider is thrown or the bull gives up. In the first case, men with blankets rush out to attract the bull's attention so he does not gore the rider. In the second case, the crowd cheers lustily and the band plays the bullfighter's triumphant flourish, the "Diana." The performance is then repeated until the bulls have all been used or darkness puts a stop to the performance.

527 The bull riding at Cherán is carefully super-
541 vised, and drunken men not only are forbidden to attempt to ride the bull but are excluded
273 from the ring. If they manage to get in, they are quite literally thrown out by a couple of husky helpers. In this respect Cherán differs from many places. I saw bull riding at the Paracho fiesta, and not only were drunken men permitted in the ring but were permitted to ride. Serious injuries are said often to result in such cases, although I saw no mishaps. Even at Cherán it is not uncommon for two or three persons to be injured, although serious injuries are fairly rare. One boy's front teeth were knocked out on the third day of bull riding in 1940.

527 The procedures described above were re-
541 peated on Tuesday and Wednesday. In theory this ended the fiesta, but the musicians by now were so much in the spirit of things that they did not go home Wednesday night. Thursday a group of young men got permission from the municipal authorities for another day of bull riding and paid one of the bands an extra 10 or 15 pesos to stay and play for the affair. On this day, the good bulls all having been ridden, the young men borrowed bulls from residents who had more or less tame bulls nearby. Bulls are not ridden at any other fiesta.

527 While the market continued to some extent
443 throughout the 3 days of bull riding, some people left even by Monday. By Wednesday the majority of the vendors had departed. There were no special closing ceremonies for the fiesta.

THE FIESTA OF CORPUS

527 The fiesta of Corpus in May is apparently the most interesting of the Cherán fiestas. It was not observed, and the notes which follow are based on accounts of informants. There

527 is no bull riding and the market is unimportant. In place of the market there is a mock market conducted by the persons who have some special occupation.

527 While all the occupations in the town are represented in the fiesta, only the more impor-
463 tant ones take official part. These are the
624 *arrieros* or muleteers, the traveling merchants and storekeepers, the agriculturists, the shake makers, the board makers, and perhaps others. For each of these groups, eight commissioners are named for each *barrio*, or a total of 32 for each occupation involved. The commissioners are obligated to provide a group of musicians for their occupation. They are privileged to take up a collection from other members of the occupation, but contributions are strictly voluntary and payment is not enforced by the *municipio* as is the case with the fiesta of the patron saint. The merchants usually nominate their own commissioners, transmitting the list to the mayor; this may be true of other occupations also.

Other occupations, such as the breadmakers, the weavers, the butchers, the storekeepers, and the honey collectors, are also participants in the fiesta, but they are not obligated to provide a group of musicians, although they sometimes do so. The honey collectors, however, have special duties.

527 Some 15 days before the fiesta, the honey
237 gatherers take the two images of their patron saint, San Anselmo, to the rancheria of Cosúmo. They usually make a camp in the woods, where they have music and drink a great deal in the evenings. During the day they collect bee nests or *panales*. These are brought to Cherán shortly before the fiesta, and two structures, katárakua, are prepared. These are made of two poles crossed at one end to form a V Cross pieces are fastened to these and the whole well covered with shakes. To the shakes are fastened the honeycombs collected, held in place with a large net similar to the fish nets of Lake Pátzcuaro. The two largest honeycombs are placed at the top of each structure. In this fashion they are paraded around the plaza on the days of fiesta (some say only on Tuesday). After the fiesta they are sold.

[526] The *panaleros* or honey gatherers also stage a greased-pole climb near the calvary on the

527 east side of town. At the top of a smooth,
237 well-greased pole are placed cigarettes, hand-
[526] kerchiefs, etc. These are called the *panal* or "honeycomb" and form the reward of the first man to get up the greased pole. The honey gatherers also often hire musicians, but this is voluntary on their part.

527 The fiesta begins on Monday and ends on
543 Saturday, but the main events take place on Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday. On these days all the persons following different occupations assemble in the plaza, and there is a mock market. Each person exhibits the type of goods he has made or the occupation he follows. Shake makers split shakes on the plaza and the plank makers saw planks. In addition, miniature shakes and planks are made and offered for sale. The carpenters make miniature houses. The farmers (and possibly the restaurant keepers) set up tiny tables with miniature dishes and serve miniature portions. They offer tiny tortillas about 2 or 3 cm. in diameter and other things, including the dishes, in proportion. When people partake of the food they ask, "How much?" The reply is "One hundred pesos" or some fantastic sum. The purchaser, however, usually gives a piece of chewing gum, candy, or some other small object. The blanket weavers and belt weavers offer miniature blankets and belts for sale as well as tiny woven wrist bands. Agriculturists exhibit all the seeds they grow, and in processions scatter seeds over the crowd. The *arrieros* or muleteers exhibit the goods they carry, such as salt, rice, brown sugar, and other basic necessities. They also make atole in the plaza, with a man grinding the maize on a metate. The traveling merchants and storekeepers exhibit notions such as thread, chewing gum, and dry goods. The breadmakers make
[436] quantities of miniature breads about an inch and a half in diameter. These are used as money by everyone.

527 About 2 o'clock in the afternoon of Tuesday,
543 Thursday, and Friday, those exhibiting their
198 wares carry them about the plaza, giving a special high-pitched cry used on no other occasion. At first they say nothing, but then they use special Tarascan words, also employed on no other occasion. "Aríjeta," they shout, meaning "Come quickly everyone," followed by

527 543 198 "Šéjeta (look at it)" and "Piájeta (buy it)." Mock trade is carried on, using the small pieces of bread as money. This procedure continues until about 7 o'clock in the evening.

527 541 Often a group of young men will ask permission of the municipal authorities to collect the *"pisos de plaza,"* that is, the tax on merchants for using the plaza (which is not collected by the *municipio* on this occasion). No one pays the young men in money, but instead in produce—miniature breads, miniature planks, a few bananas, etc. Other young men may secure permission to be the "bandits," *los asaltadores.* Both groups then arm themselves with wooden pistols and rifles. When the first group has collected the "tax," it is assaulted by the second and the two pretend to fight, "shooting" at one another until the bandits have taken away part of the things secured by the tax collectors.

527 796 The Mass for this fiesta is celebrated on Thursday. I could not find out definitely who pays for the Mass, most informants hazarding the guess that there is a *carguero* or *mayordomo* for this. On Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday there are no public functions. The musicians play in the houses of the different commissioners. There is no *castillo,* nor is there any bull riding.

FIESTA OF LA OCTAVA

527 443 The Octava occurs a week after Easter Saturday and is held on Saturday and Sunday only. It is primarily a commercial fair, resembling the fiesta of the patron saint on a smaller scale and without *castillo,* dancers, or bull riding. Five to eight commissioners are appointed for each *barrio* and they raise enough money to hire one band. The cost of the band is divided equally among the four *barrios.* No data were secured on the way in which Mass is paid.

527 541 The major feature of the fiesta is cock fighting. Usually a group interested in cock fighting hires a house near the center of town, puts up a ring and some benches, and conducts fairly organized matches. However, there are many other fights on street corners and in the patios of private houses. Bets are placed on the fights. Cocks are specially raised for fighting, but the Octava is the only time there are any

527 organized fights or any considerable amount of
541 betting. During 8 months I neither saw nor heard of cock fighting except in connection with the fiesta.

CARNIVAL

527 The Tuesday before the beginning of Lent,
[785] everyone fasts until noon. After breaking the fast, the young men go about the streets, some with musicians and some without. The girls sit at the doors of their houses with baskets of elaborately painted eggshells filled with confetti which they have been saving for several months. The boys buy the eggs from the girls and then break them over the girls' heads. The boys and girls also throw confetti at one another and sometimes the boys get such things as oranges and throw them at one another. This is repeated on Wednesday and is the only celebration of carnival.

LENT AND HOLY WEEK

796 Most of the population fast part of Lent.
[785] Some people fast until noon every day. Others do this only two or three times. On Fridays most people abstain from meat but otherwise do not fast especially.

[624] Before Palm Sunday, the collector (an official of the *cabildo*) visits the fathers of boys of suitable age and selects a boy from each *barrio*. When the boy and his father have accepted, the boy picks a girl to assist him, usually his sweetheart. The collector then visits the girl's father and gets his consent. The boys now
[484] make a trip to the hot country to bring back green palm leaves for use in the church on Palm Sunday. Before leaving, each boy gives the girl about half a hectoliter of maize, 5 liters of black maize, and some brown sugar. The
[252] girl toasts the regular maize well, grinds it, and makes large balls of the ground maize, or pinole, and the brown sugar. These are wrapped in leaves painted with many colors with analine dyes. The black maize she makes into *gorditos*, a sort of fried tortilla.

The boy also provides a wooden cross some 5 feet high. To this are fastened the balls of pinole along the upright and the arms of the cross. At the top of the cross and on the arms are also hung many fiber bags (*morales*) and small cloths used to wrap up tortillas. The

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p.129a]

A special food for Easter week is
796 tamales of black corn mixed with layers of
[262] boiled beans milled on the metate.

MINOR FIESTAS

A number of calendrical church affairs receive minor attention. The day of San Juan, June 24, boys ride about the streets on horseback. Girls fasten live pigeons with cords, and men of the family raise and lower them from the housetops. The boys try to catch the pigeons. If they succeed and the pigeon survives, they take it home. If pigeons are not available, chickens of similar size are used. Christmas, New Year's, and the Day of Kings also receive special attention. As these functions are carried on by *cargueros* or *mayordomos*, their description is left until later. The Day of the Dead is also in some measure a community celebration. As has been noted, the *municipio* requires the young men to clean up the cemetery for this occasion. The actual ceremonies, however, are individual and are described in connection with the death rites.

SECULAR FIESTAS

● 527 A number of minor fiestas appear to be celebrated which have no religious motivation connected with the church. These are patriotic affairs and are not taken very seriously. On May 5 there is a procession with the band. The bells of the church are rung and *cohetes* are fired. On September 16, Independence Day, there are usually a parade, music, and perhaps a speech or two. A great many people get drunk over the week end, but there is little formal celebration. In 1940 the Cherán band went to Chilchota for the fiesta, and there was even less celebration than usual.

HOUSE-ROOFING FIESTA

342 Although most private fiestas are described
574 elsewhere, the fiesta celebrating the roofing of a house is described here because the data on house construction have been published in another paper (Beals, Carrasco, and McCorkle, 1944). A house-roofing fiesta is celebrated whenever the shakes are put on a new house. The following account describes the fiesta held by Pedro Chávez.

The house-roofing fiesta is virtually an obligation on the part of the house owner. He is

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.1316] Sierra Tarascans

438 pottery and the goods on sale are made at the
323 same pottery-making villages that supply the other markets.

The fiesta at Cheranástico for the Assump-
796 tion of the Virgin is considered a large and important one. Services are held in the church at Cherán on this day, and the date is also observed as a fast day by many Mestizos, in Uruapan, for example.

At Capacuaro the patron saint is San Mateo. Small jars of atole are offered for sale and are purchased, together with the containers, as offerings to the saint. At Capacuaro it is said
[314] that copal smoke is the food of God and that when He eats He smells the smoke. For this reason, it is said, the priests wave the censers when copal is burning.

The only town visited where no fiestas or
796 *moyordómías* are celebrated is Urupichio. All
184 the fiestas in this town had formerly been given by *cargueros* or *mayordomos*. People took their duties so seriously that many sold their lands in order to give the *mayordomías* properly. As a result, a few wealthy people came to own all the land. When the revolution came, the town became a supporter of Zapata and later an agrarian town. After the revolution the lands were seized and divided up and the *mayordomías* and fiestas were abolished. The church, which was burned down during the revolution along with the rest of the village, has never been rebuilt. Instead of a religious
527 fiesta, Independence Day, September 16, is celebrated with bands and a *castillo*. The town is planning to have its own band. What the effects of this will be cannot be determined, but if the band is hired out to play at fiestas in other towns it may serve as the entering wedge for reviving the fiestas.

Data on the fiestas of a Mestizo town, Chilchota, are given in Appendix 2. They afford interesting comparative material.

MAYORDOMÍA ORGANIZATION AND THE CULT OF THE SAINTS

796 Approximately 13 saints exist in Cherán
776 which belong to groups only indirectly or not at all connected with the church. Each of these saints is in charge of an individual known as a *carguero* or *mayordomo* during a year or more and is associated with special procedures